Trotter review.
v. 8, no. 1 (1994 Spring/Summer)
Periodicals
E185.86 .T77
UNIV. OF MASS/BOSTON
Joseph P. Healey Library

TROTTER REVIEW

Spring/Summer 1994

Race and Economic Development:
Challenges and Prospects

Published by the
William Monroe Trotter Institute
University of Massachusetts Boston

Volume 8, Number 1
Spring/Summer 1994

INSIDE

- 3 *Introduction*
  by James Jennings
- 4 *The African-American Business Tradition in Boston*
  by Robert C. Hayden
- 8 *The African-American Urban Milieu and Economic Development*
  by Lenneal J. Henderson
- 11 *"Economic" Development Is Not "Community" Development: Lessons for a Mayor*
  by Eugene "Gus" Newport
- 15 *The Role of Black Political Leadership in Economic Development*
  by Curtis Stokes
- 18 *Theoretical Explanations of Persistent Black Youth Unemployment*
  by Rhonda M. Williams
- 21 *Myths and Realities of Puerto Rican Poverty*
  by Edwin Meléndez
- 25 *Revisiting the Question of Reparations*
  by James Jennings
- 26 *Race, Economic Development, and the Role of Transportation and Training*
  by Joan Wallace-Benjamin
- 28 *Providing Quality Leadership in Roxbury: A Profile of Leon T. Nelson*
  by Harold Horton
- 31 *Reports and Papers Related to Economic Development*

Trotter Review

Editor
James Jennings

Associate Editor
Harold Horton

Managing Editor
Leslie Bowen

Editorial Assistant
Dorothy Clark

Word Processing
Benita Rheddick

The Trotter Review *is published by the William Monroe Trotter Institute, University of Massachusetts Boston, Boston, MA 02125-3393. Subscriptions are $8.00 per year for individuals and $22.00 per year for institutions. Opinions expressed herein are those of the authors, or persons interviewed, and are not necessarily shared by the university or the editors.*

Copyright 1994 The William Monroe Trotter Institute. *ISSN 1040-6573*

Introduction

by James Jennings

This issue of the *Trotter Review* focuses on a broad range of questions and issues concerning the economic development of the urban black community. This subject is timely and important given the continuing crisis surrounding the social and economic development of black communities in urban America. Poverty, poor health, unemployment, inadequate housing, and other related concerns, will continue to plague black communities to a greater extent than other communities until effective and comprehensive economic development strategies can be developed and pursued.

This issue of the *Trotter Review* challenges the notion suggested by some that the pursuit of economic development strategies in black communities is futile and wasteful. Some observers have argued that public policy to develop the black community economically should not be pursued, but, instead, the means to escape it should be enlarged and made accessible. Many individuals who make this claim are not familiar with the grassroots, everyday potential resources that can be tapped in these communities. In various ways, this issue of the *Trotter Review* touches upon some of these resources, as well as the strategies that might be considered in pursuing more effective economic and community development.

Robert C. Hayden presents a history of black businesses in Boston. Lenneal J. Henderson describes some of the broad challenges and potential strategies that black leadership should consider in pursuing the economic development of their communities in the current period. Eugene "Gus" Newport, the former mayor of Berkeley, California, reminds us that, strictly speaking, economic development is not necessarily community development, but the latter must be an important basis for the former. Curtis Stokes examines the role of black political leadership in economic development. Rhonda Williams reviews the various explanations for the continuing high levels of black youth unemployment.

Previous studies have illustrated similarities in the poverty experiences of blacks and Puerto Ricans. Edwin Meléndez explores—and explodes—a few prominent myths about the nature and causes of Puerto Rican poverty and offers potential strategies for this community's economic development. The articles by James Jennings and Joan Wallace-Benjamin, as well as Harold Horton's interview with the president of the Greater Roxbury Chamber of Commerce, Leon T. Nelson, offer some possible components of a potential overall strategic framework for economic and community development in urban black communities.

In addition to the essays included in this issue, the editors thought it important to include an appendix listing the myriad reports published by the Trotter Institute on economic and community development. We hope this list is useful for readers who want to pursue more detailed information and analysis regarding this topic.

James Jennings is director of the Trotter Institute and professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts at Boston. He is the author of a number of books including *The Politics of Black Empowerment: The Transformation of Black Activism in Urban America*, and *Understanding the Nature of Poverty in Urban America*.

The African-American Business Tradition in Boston

by Robert C. Hayden

This essay is adapted from articles previously published in the Boston Minority Business News *(22 April 1994) and* The Bay State Banner.

African Americans in Boston have been exhibiting their interest and talents in business for a long time. Those in business today are continuing a tradition that goes back to the African culture of preslavery days. Enslaved Africans who were brought to America came from a business tradition, from a culture of great traders, merchants, and craftsmen. Many enslaved blacks, in fact, purchased their freedom by marketing their skilled services and handmade products.

Early Black Enterprise

It is both little known and historically ironic that blacks were extensively involved in skilled crafts and scientific and technological developments in Massachusetts both prior to and following the Civil War. The famous black educator Booker T. Washington, who founded the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama in 1881, perceived this clearly. He felt the nation was making a mistake to exploit the cheaper labor of immigrants over that of the skilled black artisans and business people.

Many enslaved blacks purchased their freedom by marketing their skilled services and handmade products.

Who were the forerunners of today's African-American entrepreneurs? As early as 1730, former slave Stephen Jackson was a prosperous hat maker in Boston. Paul Cuffe of Westport, Massachusetts, was successful in shipping and trading ventures between America and Canada, Europe and the Caribbean from 1778 to 1810. Robert H. Carter, the first black person registered as a licensed pharmacist in Massachusetts (1886), owned and operated five different drugstores in Boston and New Bedford between 1870 and 1903. Free and enslaved blacks made contributions to economic development as shipbuilders and sail makers, manufacturers of shoes and clothing, bricks and lumber, furniture makers, wrought-iron and silver craftsmen, store owners, caterers and restaurant operators, and hotel and livery stable owners.

The extensive use of leather for belts, bags, harnesses, saddles, and boots during the 1700s and 1800s made the tanner an important businessman-craftsman. Black men operated large businesses for retail leather products.

Prince Hall of Boston, freed by his owners in 1770, used the trade he acquired under slavery—leather dressing—to supply soldiers with leather goods during the revolutionary war.

Black coopers (barrel makers) in Massachusetts continued to play an important role after leaving the plantation. In 1768, a slave-artisan named Exeter made and repaired wooden barrels in Merrimac, Massachusetts, where they were used by almost every household for storing salted fish and meat, the staples of the colonial diet. For many years, the blacksmith was one of the most important artisans in the colonial villages where he did more than just shoe horses. The need for metal articles was so great that he was expected to make practically anything from iron.

Black women had been responsible for most of the sewing needs on the plantation—sewing new clothes for the other slaves each year as well as for the mistress. Eliza Ann Gardner, a black woman who was famous for her needlework, was a mantua maker in Boston. She learned the trade of dressmaking as a young woman and did the delicate needlework for the first banner made for the Plymouth Rock Lodge of Odd Fellows. Her home in Boston served as both a dressmaking shop and a station for the Underground Railroad.

Industrial and economic progress was made by blacks during the post–revolutionary war period in Boston. In the trades, there were a leather craftsman, a house builder, a grain measurer, a soap maker, and a boot maker. Barbers, for the most part, were black. There were thirty-two hairdressers, most of whom owned their own shops. In addition, there were fourteen clothing stores, four tailor shops, four boarding houses, and a general store—all owned by blacks. Census data for Boston after the Civil War indicate that there were skilled, entrepreneurial blacks working as printers, dry good store operators, engravers, caterers, jewelers, restaurant owners, grocers,

fruitstand owners, and cigar makers. Of the 197 black businesses in existence in Boston in 1900, 70 were in the wholesale or retail trade, 107 were in service, and 20 were in other lines of work (printers, landlords, newspaper publishers, and a banker).

The Twentieth Century

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the number of black businesses began to decline. This lack of growth and failure of some of Boston's black businesses was not the result of a small black population to serve as potential customers for, in fact, Boston's black businesses had always depended on white customers. The decline was caused by increasing competition from white immigrant groups, an insufficient supply of capital, and an increase in white prejudice and discrimination during the 1890s as "Jim Crowism" began creeping into the North.

During the first two decades of the 1900s, the typical black business proprietorships in Boston were grocery, fuel, dry goods, hardware, stationery, tobacco, and candy sales. Frequently, a small restaurant or real estate business was also part of such an establishment. The black community did not have many specialized businesses that could compete with similar ones owned by whites. By offering a diverse range of products, black proprietors were able to manage comfortable profits.

One of the purposes of African-American history should be to keep themes from the historical heritage in the forefront . . .

Small lunchrooms and restaurants were plentiful during the early 1900s. There were no black-owned drinking establishments because the Licensing Board did not readily issue licenses to blacks. There were several lodging houses that styled themselves after hotels. Two good-sized livery stables were also operating—one connected with a large black funeral business in the South End and the other owned by Henry C. Turner in the Fenway district. Turner's clientele were mostly white. A building he constructed in 1900 was used for his boarding stable and garage. In downtown Boston, a photographic studio and a school of pharmacy were owned and operated by blacks.

Four notable businesses operating between 1890 and 1910 were those of J. H. Lewis, Joseph Lee, Gilbert Harris, and William Monroe Trotter. In 1885, J. H. Lewis was making a living as a tailor in a back-street room. He suddenly gained a reputation for "bell trousers," the fashion of the day. With increased profits, he moved his shop to larger quarters on Washington Street in the downtown business section of Boston. Lewis built an extensive clientele of mostly white customers and most of his employees were also white. Joseph Lee built a large catering business in Boston on Boylston Street in the Back Bay where he enjoyed a large, wealthy patronage. During the summer, he took his culinary skills to the South Shore where he owned and operated the Squantum Inn, a fashionable summer resort. Lee owned two restaurants in Boston before buying the Woodland Park Hotel in Newton which he owned for seventeen years. In his restaurants and Newton hotel, the majority of Lee's patrons and employees were white.

The largest wig manufacturer in New England at the start of the twentieth century was Gilbert C. Harris. Arriving in Boston in 1876, he worked in a hair making shop for fourteen years before striking out on his own. With $178 he became a traveling salesman selling hair goods door-to-door. He once recalled that his cash receipts for the first three weeks amounted to ten cents. With $38 in capital, Harris started his own hair products store. His big break in profits came when he began selling wigs to the theater world. He gained large orders from the Globe Theater and supplied all the wigs to the Castle Square and Bowdoin Square theatrical stock companies. He eventually launched a mail-order business and by 1910 his business was the largest of its kind in New England.

William Monroe Trotter started his newspaper business in 1901, largely to voice his militant equal rights stand for black Americans and his opposition to Booker T. Washington's more conservative race relations posture. His newspaper, *The Guardian,* was a solid success for nearly twenty years. Today, Trotter's publishing tradition continues with publisher Melvin Miller's *The Bay State Banner,* established in 1965.

Cooperative enterprises were started in Boston in the late 1800s and early 1900s. One of the most notable was the Colored Cooperative Publishing Company led by Walter Wallace, located at 232 West Canton Street. It published the *Colored American Magazine,* a popular publication of art, science, literature, and business with a national readership of blacks and whites. One could become a member with an investment of five dollars. In 1917, Boston's NAACP established a cooperative grocery store with $5,000 in capital.

In 1919, a retail and wholesale grocery and provision store, Goode, Dunson & Henry, situated on Shawmut Avenue in the heart of the black community, had grown from a small beginning into a specialized business which competed successfully with similar white businesses. It survived by providing services to both white and black area residents. Through its wholesale department it supplied many of the smaller, black-owned neighborhood grocery stores. Jesse Goode, a partner in the grocery firm, also had a real estate firm. In 1910, Jesse Goode Associates held a dozen pieces of property assessed at $70,000. Goode's realty firm was financed from investments made by twenty black waiters who pooled their small weekly savings to create the Goode Realty Trust. This was an early example of a business cooperative formed on a large scale by blacks in Boston.

The National Negro Business League was founded in 1900, at the urging of Washington, in response to the need for an organization to provide a way for black business people to come together to offer each other support,

consultation, and information. When the NBL held its diamond anniversary convention in Boston in 1975, it honored Estella V. Crosby, chairperson of the National Negro Business League convention held in Boston during the 1950s. Mrs. Crosby operated her own beauty shop for years at the same time she ran a retail store on Tremont Street, then the hub of black business enterprise in Boston. Mrs. Crosby began her work as a beautician in Boston's West End where she fixed hair for whites and blacks. She later moved to Tremont Street in the South End where she ran a dry goods store that also did business with whites and blacks.

During the early 1900s, Tremont Street was the principal street for black activity. The Eureka Cooperative Bank located at 930 Tremont Street was the only bank in the East owned and operated by blacks. Thomas E. Lucas ran the Southern Dining Room on Tremont Street known for its good food and prompt, attentive service. From 1923 to 1970, the South End Electric Company on Tremont Street was a pioneering business in Boston's black community. Its founder and president-treasurer was Leon G. Lomax. South End Electric did electrical contracting, house wiring, and repairing. It wired most of the homes in Roxbury when people changed from gas lighting to electricity.

Lomax studied at the Coyne School of Electricity and Northeastern University after arriving in Boston in 1920. He received a master electrician's license from the state but could not gain admission to the all-white union. So he started out on his own in 1923. His first big contract for $1,800 was for wiring the halls of the Jesse Goode Realty Trust. In 1940, South End Electric became the dealer for Kelvinator electrical refrigerators in Roxbury. It eventually began to sell washing machines, electric ranges, radios, and the first television sets in the community. Major appliances could be purchased in installments as part of the customer's electric bill. South End Electric was the first black-owned business to join the Boston Chamber of Commerce. In 1938, Lomax also organized the Greater Boston Negro Trade Association.

Business and Community Efforts toward Economic Empowerment

A historical review of black businesses in Boston can not overlook three community action-oriented attempts at economic empowerment from the late 1960s to the early 1970s—CIRCLE, Inc. (Centralized Investments to Revitalized Community Living Effectively), Freedom Industries, and Unity Bank.

CIRCLE tried to stop the flow of black capital from the community. Unity Bank, the Contractor's Association of Boston, and other business groups, along with nonprofit community agencies, sought to establish a central purchasing and computer information system for all agencies to use. While these goals were never realized, federal grants from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity did result in the establishment of community organizations whose purpose was to develop educational programs and activities that would give attention to the interrelationship of jobs, housing, education, and business development.

Freedom Industries (FI) was started in 1968 by attorney Archie Williams who had been active in CIRCLE. FI was designed to recirculate its profits through the black community. It was comprised of a series of interlocking businesses that included electronic assembly, graphics and advertising, and a chain of supermarkets. Freedom Foods started operating in 1968 in an old Stop and Shop supermarket. Freedom Electronics began assembly of electronic equipment in 1968. Freedom Industries was intended to be a tool to generate and operate new businesses, make fiscal and technical resources available to people establishing new businesses, provide venture capital, and develop new ideas for other community-controlled, profit-making businesses.

Just about the time Freedom Industries was getting started, Unity Bank—the first major twentieth-century black-owned bank in Boston—came into being. It opened in 1968 with assets over $1.2 million, 70 percent of which was raised in the black community. Within two years, Unity had assets worth $19 million. In 1971, however, Unity went into receivership after extensive loans threatened its capital; the bank eventually closed. But, this was not the end of black-owned and operated commercial banks in Boston. A group of entrepreneurs later formed the Boston Bank of Commerce which assumed the deposits of Unity and purchased its branches.

The seven principles of Kwanza can be seen in all of our long-lived, successful African-American enterprises . . .

Incorporated on June 30, 1982, with Juan M. Cofield as its leading founder and president from 1982–83, Boston Bank of Commerce is the only fully insured black-owned and operated bank in Boston and New England. A successor to Unity Bank and Trust, the Boston Bank of Commerce is unique in its outreach and service to religious, academic, social service, and health and human service agencies and organizations. Under the leadership of Ronald A. Homer, who became president and chief executive officer in June 1983, a winning investment strategy has resulted in an annual growth rate of 30 percent.

Coming Together

The Greater Roxbury Chamber of Commerce was established in August 1990 with the mission to provide service to the minority business community through programs designed to promote economic development, communicate business information, and foster community involvement. This was not the first time that African-American businesses in Boston had come together. In July 1969, under the leadership of Josephine Holly (owner of La Parisienne Beauty Salon), the Roxbury Businessmen's Development Corporation (RBDC) was founded. RBDC was formed so that the small businessmen and women

could effect solutions to problems and control their own destinies. Between 1969 and 1971, RBDC sponsored seminars, workshops, and courses for small business people, contracted with the Department of Labor to promote training for young people, developed anticrime programs, and provided work sites for college students and the Model Cities Summer Youth Works. In 1972, RBDC published the *Directory of Black Businesses and Professionals* listing 378 firms and professionals (doctors, dentists, lawyers, and accountants).

RBDC later developed into the Roxbury Chamber of Commerce (RCC), with over one hundred members, and began sponsoring the annual Roxbury parade, reviving the old Roxbury Historical Society goal of promoting Roxbury as a good place to do business. A similar group was founded in 1973—the Black Corporate Presidents of New England, Inc. (BCPNE), a group of black manufacturers concerned about barriers to business opportunities for blacks. Today BCPNE represents a regional constituency and the interest of some five thousand black-owned manufacturing and service industries in the New England region.

The Future

One of the purposes of African-American history should be to keep themes from the historical heritage in the forefront to continue, in this case, a strong African-American business tradition: one is the notion of family-owned businesses; the other is embedded in the seven principles of Kwanza, an African-American celebration meaning "first fruits of the harvest" in Swahili. The seven principles of Kwanza can be seen in all of our long-lived, successful African-American enterprises, both past and present. They are: *unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity,* and *faith*. These principles guided the entrepreneurs of the past and will continue to provide direction for the future. Strength to meet the challenges of the future will be gained by these Kwanza principles and knowing, celebrating, and using the landscape of the past.

References

Daniels, John. *In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of Boston's Negroes*. New York: The Negro University Press, 1968; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914.

Hayden, Robert C. *African Americans in Boston. More than 350 Years*. Boston. Trustees of the Boston Public Library, 1992.

King, Mel. *Chain of Change: Struggles for Black Community Development*. Boston: South End Press, 1981.

Robert C. Hayden is president of RCH Associates in Boston, Massachusetts and a lecturer in the College of Public and Community Service at UMass Boston.

The African-American Urban Milieu and Economic Development

by Lenneal J. Henderson

This article is adapted from "African Americans in the Urban Milieu: Conditions, Trends, and Developmental Needs," in The State of Black America 1994, *edited by Billy J. Tidwell (New York: National Urban League, Inc., 1994), 11–29.*

Economic disparity between urban white America and urban black America is becoming more pronounced, whether in central cities, suburbs, or edge cities. African-American employment prospects have declined in central cities, increased slightly in suburbs, and increased substantially for the few African Americans living and working in edge cities. William Julius Wilson cites the decline in stable, higher-paying, blue-collar employment in the industrial cities throughout America.[1] Others identify the changing structure of metropolitan employment as characterized by more rapid professional and white-collar employment growth in suburbs and edge cities and declining employment in central cities. In his book, *Cities Without Suburbs,* David Rusk argues that there is a distinction between the growth patterns of *elastic* and *inelastic* cities: elastic cities grow from within and are sufficiently flexible to transcend boundaries; inelastic cities experience declining demographic, economic, employment, and tax growth. Suburbs gain what the central cities lose.[2] These trends are manifested in the stark disparities in income, wealth, and poverty between African Americans and other Americans and among urban African Americans. The rise of young, African-American, female-headed households, the burgeoning employment in edge cities, and the lower incomes of African Americans with college educations and professional training contribute collectively to trends in the economic status of African Americans. Beyond differences in income of urban African Americans, William O'Hare identified critical differences, particularly in urban areas, between African-American and overall American net worth.[3]

Residential segregation and poor housing continue to define the living conditions of most urban African Americans. Given the historical role of cities as points of entry for American nonwhites; given the historical patterns of racial segregation of these nonwhites, particularly in industrial cities; given the discriminatory real estate practices and current patterns of inner-city disinvestment; and given the role of increasingly intense inner-city poverty in impeding the financial capacity of central-city residents to buy in the suburbs, sociologists Massey and Kanaiaupuni combine these structural explanations for the rise in central-city poverty and racial segregation with the contributions of public housing policies. They argue that, since low-income housing projects use poverty as a criterion for entry, they build concentrated poverty structurally into any neighborhood that contains them.[4] However, beyond public housing, patterns of residential segregation are evident in owner-occupied and rental housing in both inner-city and suburban African-American households.[5]

Environmental degradation is an increasingly alarming feature of urban life for African Americans. Although environmental issues are most often associated with endangered species of flora and fauna, the combination of exposure to increasing levels of lead poisoning, asbestos, and radon; the disproportionate siting of noxious facilities, such as sewer treatment plants, garbage dumps, landfills, incinerators, hazardous waste disposal sites, lead smelters, and other risky technologies;[6] the location of large, urban, African-American communities in areas designated as "nonattainment" for air pollution by the 1992 Clean Air Act amendments; and, the severe health consequences of disproportionate exposure to water pollution, collectively create a deadly environment of risk in urban black America far in excess of the risks experienced by any animal species. Robert Bullard categorized these problems of environmental justice into procedural, geographical, and social inequities.[7]

Residential segregation and poor housing continue to define the living conditions of most urban African Americans.

The urban African-American political dynamic is increasingly characterized by both continuing increases in the number and distribution of African-American elected officials at all levels of urban government and the tyranny of jurisdictional boundary between city and suburb. According to the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, there are currently more than eight thousand African-American elected officials. More than 90 percent of these elected officials serve in cities of varying sizes. Although increasing numbers of African-American elected officials are serving in office in cities with nonblack majorities like Seattle, Washington, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Rochester, New York, as well as suburban areas like Howard County, Maryland, Shelby County, Tennessee, and Broward County, Florida, most serve in cities with impoverished African-American populations. Three interrelated challenges face these elected officials: (a) the continued erosion of African-American political representation in central cities as the population of these cities declines; (b) the impact of poverty on the political behavior and opinions of African Americans. This represents a severe impediment to African-American political mobilization among the young and particularly among "the underclass." Cathy J. Cohen and

Michael C. Dawson indicate that social scientists "have neglected the one area that could lead to the empowerment and involvement of poor individuals in struggles to change their status, namely, politics (as distinguished from policy formation)";[8] and (c) the need for African-American elected officials to balance central-city, suburban, and edge-city visions. Business, industry, new housing, and public and private investment in infrastructure must proceed on a metro-regional basis. Consequently, African Americans must engineer self-development on a macro, metro, and micro (community) basis. As Neal Pierce indicates in his new book, *Citistates,* cities and suburbs need to make a deal for their mutual survival.[9]

Urban black America has a profound and continuing stake in a fledgling national urban policy. Recent attempts by the Clinton administration to promote "empowerment zones," economic stimulus, and greater investment in infrastructure, particularly in the nation's metropolitan areas, have met with both congressional opposition and intense lobbying by interest groups not as concerned with central-city development. The basic impact of these proposed policies is not only economic, but human: they represent an investment in the *human* infrastructure of central cities. The development of the urban African-American community is a joint venture of both public policy and the determined mobilization of African-American households and institutions.

Light in Deep Darkness: Self-Development Initiatives in Black America

The mere description of these trends wraps a cloak of apparent deep darkness around urban black America. Destruction, decay, and atrophy seem intractable. But, beneath these trends persist thousands of initiatives promoting the survival and development of households, neighborhoods, cities, and urban African-American communities. Despite sharp and devastating declines in federal assistance to cities in the last twelve years,[10] many of these initiatives mobilize citizen resources: churches, corporations, foundations, and nonprofit institutions; they adamantly confront a range of complex and ominous challenges including violent crime, housing shortages and deterioration, environmental justice, education, employment development, business and commercial development, and the development of physical infrastructures. This light flows from a dynamic, restless, stirring, spiritual reservoir deep within those in the African-American community who care not only about African Americans, but, ultimately, themselves. Examples of self-development in urban black America illustrate this light in deep darkness. In Oakland, California, Safe Streets Now! is an innovative, low-cost, effective program that empowers neighborhood residents with a safe, fast, efficient, step-by-step program to eliminate drug houses in their neighborhoods and to prevent them from reforming. Its primary purpose is to provide citizens with the necessary tools to eliminate neighborhood nuisances house by house, street by street, and neighborhood by neighborhood. Under the guidance of a community organizer, neighbors take control of drug trafficking by pursuing legal action against property owners who rent to drug dealers. Since 1989, Safe Streets Now! has trained over thirty-five hundred citizens to close over 250 drug houses. More than $700,000 in judgments in small claims courts have been won for neighborhood residents. In 1992 alone, Safe Streets Now! provided thirty-three community workshops in Oakland and consultations to 385 volunteers who have closed down sixty-seven drug houses.[11]

Urban black America has a profound and continuing stake in a fledgling national urban policy.

A huge, dynamic, multifaceted initiative in community development is also occurring in the Sandtown-Winchester community on the west side of Baltimore, Maryland, a twenty-block area that is home to twelve thousand five hundred of the city's poorest residents. This initiative is the result of a dynamic, diverse coalition, including Mayor Kurt Schmoke and his administration, the Enterprise Foundation, founded by urban developer James Rouse, and the Community Building In Partnership, Inc. (CBP). A massive development of some three hundred new homes has been launched along with the development of diverse, intensive social service support systems to sustain neighborhood transformation. Community self-development is the prevailing norm animating much of the success of this nationally recognized project.[12]

Many initiatives in urban environmental justice are flourishing in urban black America. The first National Environmental Summit for People of Color convened in Washington, D.C., in October 1991, under the leadership of the Commission on Racial Justice and the Environmental Equity Task Force, along with urban environmental analysts and activists like Carl Anthony, Robert Bullard, and Charles Lee. During and since that summit, many urban environmental projects, programs, and coalitions proceeded in the midst of the worst urban conditions. In Maryland, a unique coalition has emerged between the Baltimore Urban League, under the leadership of Roger Lyons, and the eighty-thousand-member Chesapeake Bay Foundation, under the leadership of Will Baker. With the support of the Morris Goldseker Foundation, this inner-city environmental partnership will pursue environmental education, environmental employment development, urban revitalization through more balanced metropolitan growth strategies, and toxic waste reduction in Baltimore City. In addition, the work of African-American architect and planner Carl Anthony and his Earth Island Institute in San Francisco focuses on an effective, balanced approach to the development of energy-efficient, environmentally sound, urban transportation alternatives. Add to these examples hundreds of urban forestry, greenway, water

relief efforts, and public policy initiatives to reduce urban air pollution, and, clearly, the battle to reclaim and restore the ecology of urban African-American communities is escalating.

Toward a Concept of Urban Self-Development

These examples illustrate the essential, recurring elements of self-development in urban black America. These elements are inextricably intertwined and characterize most current urban initiatives.

- Collective Community Resolve. From deep within the spirit of those pursuing the social, economic, political, and cultural development of the African-American community is a collective resolve undaunted by the encroachments and setbacks of crime, reduced governmental support, or institutional atrophy. No effort succeeds without this faith and tenacity.
- Pervasive Transformation. No concept of self-development ultimately succeeds by benefiting only a fleeting segment of its community. Development initiatives should involve Du Bois's "talented tenth," the vital majority of the community, and the underclass. The engendering of class divisions or conflicts within the African-American community will retard and defeat development of the community's capacity to renew and sustain itself and to transact strategically with other communities and institutions.
- Dynamic Coalitions. As the current trade status of the United States indicates, no successful nation can thrive without diplomacy, trade, and alliance. Urban black America requires strategic coalitions to promote self-development. Those coalitions must proceed on the basis of mutual self-interest and maintenance of a community vision—even in the most intense bargaining with communities and institutions outside the African-American community. Coalitions proceed based on recognition of their vital interdependency.[13]
- Developmental Entrepreneurship. Much rhetoric about black business pervades public policy dialogue in the African-American community. However, urban African-American entrepreneurship is ultimately useless without making more than money. Constructive employment, quality services, physical infrastructure development, environmental consciousness, youth development, historic preservation, and institutional development must also animate business as communities become empowered through the efforts of urban entrepreneurs.[14]
- Constructive, Creative, and Consistent Use of Public Policy. The National Urban League's "Marshall Plan" calls for an annual investment of $50 billion to revitalize and develop urban communities. That is an investment not just in black America, but, ultimately, in America itself. Public policy now invests nearly $77 billion annually in public assistance, public housing, law enforcement, and correctional facilities. This investment is anti-self-development in black America. The Urban League's Marshall Plan pursues a public policy agenda aimed at human and physical infrastructure development that is self-sustaining and results in an urban multiplier effect. Most importantly, the engines of self-renewal, spiritual dynamism, and growth are switched on in the architecture of the plan. No development can proceed without these engines.

Notes

[1]William Julius Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 12–43.

[2]David Rusk, *Cities Without Suburbs* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1993).

[3]William O'Hare, *Black Wealth in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: The Joint Center for Political Studies, 1988).

[4]Douglass S. Massey and Shawn M. Kanaiaupuni, "Public Housing and the Concentration of Poverty," *Social Science Quarterly* 74, No. 1 (March 1993): 110.

[5]See, for example, Dennis E. Gale, Washington, D.C.: Inner-City Revitalization and Minority Suburbanization (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).

[6]Robert Bullard, "Race and Environmental Justice in the United States," *The Yale Journal of International Law* 18, No. 1 (Winter 1993): 319.

[7]Robert Bullard, "Waste and Racism: A Stacked Deck?," *Forum for Applied Research and Public Policy* (1993): 29; see also Robert Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990).

[8]Cathy J. Cohen and Michael C. Dawson, "Neighborhood Poverty and African-American Politics," *American Political Science Review* 87, No. 2 (June 1993): 286.

[9]Neal Pierce, *Citistates* (Washington, D.C.: Seven Locks Press, 1993).

[10]Demetrios Caraley, "Washington Abandons the Cities," *Political Science Quarterly* 107, No. 1 (Spring 1992): 1–30.

[11]Application of the City of Oakland, CA, to the National Civic League All-American City Competition (April 1993), 3.

[12]Lenneal J. Henderson, "Baltimore: Managing the Civics of a Turnaround Community," *National Civic Review* 82, No. 4 (Fall 1993): 4–12.

[13]Lenneal J. Henderson, "Looking at the Birds: Economics and the African-American Challenge," *The Good News Herald* 8, No. 5 (March 1993).

[14]On the concept of empowerment, see Lenneal J. Henderson, "Empowerment Through Enterprise: African-American Business Development," in *The State of Black America* 1993, edited by Billy J. Tidwell (Washington, D.C.: National Urban League, Inc., 1993), 91–108.

Lenneal J. Henderson is a fiscal policy expert and Distinguished Professor of Government and Public Administration at the University of Baltimore.

"Economic" Development is not "Community" Development: Lessons for a Mayor

by Eugene "Gus" Newport

Economic development is one of the most important elements of an effective community development plan. Economic development can mean jobs for the community, as well as the development of new businesses and the enhancement of a city's tax base, which provides the funds to operate the government. I had campaigned on the need for responsible alternative economic development. But, one of the first things I learned is that community development often gets misinterpreted as economic development. That is an unfortunate mistake, since the term *community development* has a much broader meaning, both conceptually and practically. Community development means development of a wide variety of facets of a community, and it always includes people in its definition as well as other key elements that make up the infrastructure of the community.

A report titled *Our Cities, Their Role in the National Economy,* published in 1937 by the National Resources Committee, was the underpinning of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal program. The beginning section reads:

> Of all our national resources the most important, and the one in terms of which all the others have to be judged, is human life. The safety, welfare, and happiness of the men, women, and children who compose the American people constitutes the only justification of government. They are the ends for which all our resources, land, water, minerals, plants, animals, technology, institutions, and laws are merely instruments.
>
> The manner of life of our people, the problems they face, and the hopes and desires they cherish for improvement in their existence and the advance of their civilization should be the supreme concern of government.

Successful community development requires a comprehensive analysis of the community based on an assessment of the people who live there. This analysis permits those in power to plan and set priorities based, in large measure, on the needs of the community. From a political/philosophical perspective, the vehicle created to address these needs is most often called public policy. The following essay is a brief overview of how I, as mayor of Berkeley, California, between 1979 and 1987, learned some hard lessons about the pursuit of economic development.

Taking Office

On the morning of April 18, 1979, I awoke with the full realization of having won an upset election the previous evening for the office of mayor of Berkeley. I was to take office on May 1, just two weeks away. I was supposed to begin implementing the myriad programs and ideas upon which I had campaigned.

My immediate concern was, Where do I start, and what do I have to work with? In order to get some answers, I made an appointment with the mayor of Oakland, the neighboring city to the south. He had been in office for a few years. While some aspects of the meeting I could count as interesting, I did not learn anything of particular relevance to satisfy my immediate needs. Next, I had the traditional transition meeting with the mayor whom I had defeated. That proved to be even more futile. I took a deep breath and focused on my prior but limited experiences in government. I decided to gather the "issues people" from my campaign and prepare an agenda for the city council meeting.

My most pressing concern was to adapt and then adopt a city budget that had been largely prepared by the previous council and city manager, a budget that did not reflect some of the areas that I believed had to be given high priority. Of course, the annual budget is the game plan for every project, program, or policy, including community development. On top of having an already-prepared budget to deal with, I also had to face the fact that my coalition did not have a majority on the city council, a basic

prerequisite to pass any legislation. Fortunately, the city council had eight members, and three of the eight were with me. Every now and again, one of the remaining five would move to an independent position. Very early on we saw that this swing vote could sometimes be persuaded to vote with us, providing the five-to-four majority.

Technically, we had to adopt a budget by June 30 of my first year, and that meant a lot of work in a very short time. With the help of the swing vote, I convinced the city council to increase the number of persons appointed to the Citizens' Budget Committee. The previous city council had passed a resolution creating the committee but had never implemented it.

. . . change is possible if one moves with authority, precise judgment, and sound information.

My campaign theme had been to implement a zero–based budget analysis, to adopt a budget that reflected selected needs, to prioritize those needs, and to implement strategies to meet them through a community development plan. Bureaucracies have a tendency to adopt incremental budgets every year. That is, each year they submit the same work plan, with a minimum of change, and they increase the amount, reflecting a percentage increase in, for example, employee salaries, plus the cost of inflation as it impacts on supplies and services. The adoption of incremental budgets does not require or reflect any creativity. There is no demand for needs analysis or any close listening to what citizens want or ought to expect for their tax dollars. Here is a simple example: If the public works department's work plan reflects that it intends to pave several miles of roads, both the budget and the plan should specify the amount of cement required and its cost, as well as the number of personnel hours and costs. This requirement does not threaten the number of jobs the bureaucracy might support; to the contrary, it only helps to place sufficient jobs in areas where your community development program analysis has suggested they should be placed to best fulfill the government's prioritized needs.

Through our Citizens' Budget Committee, we were informed early on that our police department had one administrator for every three patrol officers. We sensed that the ratio was a bit weighted in the wrong direction, and so we contacted a state police training and consultant organization to inquire if this ratio were common. At the same time, we began an organizational and personnel power comparability survey with other police forces of similar-sized cities. Our concerns were justified. We found out that no other police force had an administrator-to-patrol officer ratio of better than one-to-seven.

As a result of our findings, I suggested to the chief of police that he cut some of the administrative positions, some of which had been budgeted previously but were vacant at that time, and increase the number of patrol positions in such areas as victims of rape, youth activities, and foot patrol. The chief hesitated in his response, citing inconsistent and illogical reasons why he should not make the requested change. I informed him that I, and some in my citizens' support network, had talked to other police administrators and that we had received materials from the National Police Institute that supported this change. I informed him that we had been advised against funding a top-heavy administration. Moreover, these reports showed there is a saturation point for police. These consultants cited studies that had shown that after reaching a prescribed police-to-population ratio, excessive numbers of personnel had little, if any, impact on crime control.

Taking on the Police and the Police Budget

The chief of police decided at this point that he was going to outmaneuver me. Being black himself and noting that some black officers were in line for promotion, he asked the local NAACP chapter for support. He suggested that I was blocking the upward mobility of black officers. He was successful in getting the NAACP to attack me at the first public budget hearings. Soon after those budget hearings, I met with the NAACP leaders in my office and showed them the police department affirmative action profile and projections. I was able to provide them with a body of data that suggested that they were making a mistake, and they withdrew from the issue.

On the day we were to adopt the budget, I again met with the police chief and asked him to amend his budget and explained what I wanted. He seemed to agree. As a result of discussions with the budget staff, I had decided to try to increase the police budget in the areas of equipment and training, but because of the overall status of the total city budget, we had to make cuts and amendments in other areas. When the chief presented his budget for final approval, he again opposed me and stated a number of reasons why he could not and would not amend his budget. Fortunately, I had been warned by certain staff members that he might not play ball, and I was prepared.

After hearing from all the department heads about their concerns and doing analyses of their work plans, I read my budget message, interpreting my analysis of the problems confronting us and why I had emphasized certain areas. I explained that some changes were due to federal and state funding cuts. In other cases, I did not deem it feasible to continue programs or work that did not meet high-priority needs. I made my point when I cut $1 million from the police budget and transferred it into social service programs that had been cut totally by the previous city council after the passage of Proposition 13, a state ballot measure limiting taxes similar to Proposition 2½ in Massachusetts.

I justified this action by pointing to studies that showed crime had decreased in areas where social services and jobs had been given priority to meet the problems of the disadvantaged. Arguing that these programs should be given the same status as other basic services, I also lowered the police budget costs by changing some of their

desk positions to civilian positions. Uniformed personnel fringe benefits are much higher than civilian benefits because of the challenges police meet. It is important that I point out here that I had made sure that community people, who would benefit by the funds to be appropriated, were present to show their support and offset the demeanor of the chief of police and his entourage of supporters.

My budget message had a very important domino effect, because my point was also made to other department heads, the media, and the general population. Furthermore, those persons who had suggested that they believed all of the local tax monies should go into public safety (police and fire services) were silenced, because I explained to them that after the passage of Proposition 13, residential property tax collected for the city of Berkeley was only about $11 million.

I find this example of the funding of the police budget instructive, because this particular experience helped me to understand that with the power of the pen and a majority of votes, change is possible if one moves with authority, precise judgment, and sound information. In municipal government, the police are usually sacrosanct, but when they are presented as part of overall community needs, the police, as well as the community, begin to understand their role in the larger perspective, and they are forced to interact more as a part of a community. These results were achieved in Berkeley.

. . . practical approaches can often persuade where obstinacy fails.

For example, socially conscious police officers—and many were—began to take a greater interest in social programs, school programs, and even tax and fee ordinances, because they understood the relevance of these programs and funding sources for the fulfillment, both programmatically and financially, of their own department's needs. From this point on, ironically, some of the police could be counted among my best supporters. As a result of the smoothness with which these budget amendments were implemented, changes in other departments were accomplished with much less opposition.

Once this budget became a reality, I was able to empower the Citizens' Budget Committee to examine the work plans of the various departments and to get a much better understanding of what their relation was to their line item budgets. It was through this process, where reorganization was necessary, that we assured a system that related to and produced an effective community development plan.

An example of the lack of management vision was apparent in the routine system of municipal government. The city had a small economic development office that had no interaction with CETA (Concentrated Employment Training Act), its job development activities, the youth jobs program, or the planning department. The latter was responsible for negotiating development agreements, which could include a commitment for a specified number of jobs, funds for transportation, funds for child care, and funds to be set aside for low-income housing. Furthermore, when I took office, the city had no overall economic development plan.

Following the adoption of an economic development plan, I immediately applied to the Minority Business Development Division of the U.S. Department of Commerce and received a $500,000 revolving loan for Berkeley's predominantly black area. This loan was managed by a local community development corporation and was used for loans to small, marginal businesses and joint ventures in a prescribed community.

Successes and Failures

The Colgate-Palmolive Company decided to close a plant that had been operating in Berkeley for sixty-five years. Before announcing its decision to shut down, the company assured workers it had no intention of closing this plant. I scheduled a city council hearing to get a public airing of the workers' concerns and to hear from the company's representative. Colgate refused to send a representative, so I organized a panel to assess the situation and to develop a strategy to keep Colgate from closing its plant.

We were not successful in keeping the plant open, but as a result of several lunches, well-attended by a wide cross section of people I had invited to participate, and after developing a plan for alternative use for the plant, we were able to convince Colgate to donate the property to a nonprofit corporation. The understanding was that it would be subdivided and used for small-business incubators, to include child care, computer inventory assistance, and a commitment of $2 million in seed money from five banks against the equity.

We also applied for and received monies to build rental housing. Scattered site, rental, and limited equity housing were developed for the first time in years, even though Berkeley had enacted the toughest rent control law in the country during my tenure. This fact lays to rest the myth that rental housing will not be built in a municipality that has strong rent control laws. Berkeley's residential rent control exempts new construction. However, we passed an inclusionary zoning regulation that mandates that 25 percent of all new private units must be low income.

During my term in office many other changes took place, such as the upgrading of certain neighborhoods; streamlining of the Section 8 (low-income subsidized housing) permit process; development of a solid waste recycling program, including construction of a transfer station; passage of a library tax to assure full funding of the city's library system; and passage of an ordinance to complete an overall downtown plan and area plan. We also hired new staff to complete the Waterfront Master Plan, and we ushered in the construction of a repertory theater through a UDAG grant.[1]

In attempting to implement this ambitious program

of community development, I encountered my share of resistance and problems, most often from persons or organizations where I least expected it. To put it bluntly, I encountered more resistance from my own coalition and supposed allies during the years in which I had an absolute majority on the city council than during the years in which I was either in the minority or had a fluid and problematic majority. This was a beneficial learning experience for me. I learned more of what to expect from certain groups, as well as how and when it is effective to be diplomatic or dogmatic. Perhaps the saddest revelation to me was the recognition of the germ of truth in the allegation that "the Left is its own worst enemy."

One of my worst periods in politics was when Berkeley received $6.75 million to construct seventy-five units of affordable housing, only to encounter continuous opposition from persons and sectors who claimed to be concerned for people, but who concocted numerous reasons why this housing should not be built in certain neighborhoods. The city ended up building only sixty-one units in an era when thousands of people were sleeping in the street. I consider this the low point in my tenure in politics and an ignoble blotch on Berkeley's reputation as a caring city.

If I were again to attempt clearly political objectives, I would pursue a more populist position, now that I recognize that politics, played well, is essentially a game of trade-offs. A more populist position would not have signaled a change in my philosophy, only a positive change in tactics. In many cases, the more progressive forces, as they call themselves, often turn out to be single-issue people who oppose any issue that is not their own. I did learn that practical approaches can often persuade where obstinacy fails.

Notes

[1]We not only worked on the home front, but we also passed and implemented sister-city relations with San Antonio Los Ranchos, El Salvador (in the Liberated Zones); Leon, Nicaragua; and Gao, Mali.

Eugene "Gus" Newport is a fellow of the Mabel Louise Riley Foundation of Boston, Massachusetts. In addition, he is a consultant for the Annie E. Casey and Jacobs Family Foundations. He served as mayor of Berkeley, California, from 1979 to 1987. During his tenure as mayor, the city's bond rating rose to AAA status. Mr. Newport was the first senior fellow of the William Monroe Trotter Institute and is currently a research associate.

The Role of Black Political Leadership in Economic Development

by Curtis Stokes

A Crisis of Development

One of the most striking things about the United States is the degree to which racial inequality remains a pervasive fact of life. Indeed, since the end of the 1960s the black-white gap in life chances (for example, jobs and income) has worsened for large segments of the black community. To persistently face high unemployment and declining income is especially troublesome in a capitalist economy like that in the United States, where goods and services are rationed by a harsh market and where there is, at best, a very modest social safety net. The United Nation's *Human Development Report 1993,* which measured the quality of life not merely between countries but among population groups within countries, found that white Americans, as a group, possess the best life chances—in terms of life expectancy, education, purchasing power, and other factors—among 173 countries in the study.[1] Blacks and Latinos ranked 31st and 35th respectively, which puts their quality of life among impoverished Third World countries.

The black middle class remains fragile and small, especially when compared to its white counterpart.

Certainly there have been some gains since the civil rights movement; for example, we can point to the continued growth of a black middle class. Today some 30 percent of black families have incomes of at least $35,000 per year; the comparable percentage for 1970 was 24 percent.[2] Also, according to the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, there are some eight thousand African-American elected officials today; in 1965, the year the Voting Rights Act was adopted, there were 250. Clearly some blacks have benefitted from the civil rights movement. Even here, however, one must be cautious. The black middle class remains fragile and small, especially when compared to its white counterpart. For example, blacks tend to be disproportionately represented in especially vulnerable government employment, lack wealth to cushion their middle-class status, and continue to endure racial indignities whatever their income, education, or occupational status.[3] It should likewise be noted that black elected officials still only constitute about 1.5 percent of all elected officials, and, with few exceptions, blacks tend to be electable only in majority or near-majority black districts.

Whatever the problems of the black middle class, the broad masses of blacks are being left behind. One-third of the black population is officially classified as poor by the U.S. government and perhaps half or more of the other one-third not in the middle class are barely surviving. Not surprisingly, a year ago a national magazine referred to these African Americans as "losing ground," noting that "black America's outlook grows bleaker."[4]

What are the sources of the problems confronting African Americans? How do we explain this continuing and pervasive racial inequality in America? The answers to these questions require an analysis animated by a critical historical and theoretical perspective and a willingness to speak bluntly to both the black and white communities.

Leadership and the Crisis

While there is a degree of clarity on the nature, and perhaps even the extent, of the social and economic crises affecting the African-American community, there is considerable confusion among both blacks and whites as to the sources of the problems. Given the disinclination of Americans toward systemic assessments—especially under the socializing impact of intrusive bourgeois-centered civil institutions—this is not surprising. Yet, the starting point for any thoughtful analysis of the sources of the problems plaguing black Americans should be understanding and acknowledging the complicated interfacing of both external and internal factors in the black community, with primacy attributed to external factors in this explanatory model.

Both historically and currently, the intersecting of institutionalized white racism and economic subordination has been pivotal in providing the basic foundation for the continuing and pervasive racial inequality in the United

United States. Thus, historian Manning Marable rightly observes that "capitalist development has occurred [in the United States] not in spite of the exclusion of blacks, but because of the brutal exploitation of blacks as workers and consumers. Blacks have never been equal partners in the American Social Contract, because the system exists not to develop, but to underdevelop black people."[5] Yet, this is not the whole story. Sadly, "internal" factors in the black community—such as the cultivating of an ethic of governmental or white dependency and the general failure of mainstream leadership in this century—play an important role in the continuing racial and economic subordination of black people.

One-third of the black population is officially classified as poor by the U.S. government . . .

When discussing modern mainstream black leadership in the United States it is useful to distinguish between traditional leadership, running roughly from the post–Civil War period to 1965, and contemporary leadership. Traditional African-American leaders were typically anchored in the church, often charismatic and authoritarian, and usually male. They were disproportionately light-skinned, driven by a bourgeois world view (i.e., reformist, valuing monied culture, and socially conservative), and rarely envisioned any solution to the racial and economic subordination of blacks that was not centered on some kind of liberal or conservative economic program. Historian Nathan Huggins is partly right when he says that "three characteristics marked the (traditional) black leader: he did not derive his power from a democratic source, he was a self-styled exemplar, and his position was tenuous and vulnerable."[6] To varying degrees, mainstream black leaders throughout most of this century could be called "traditional," including Booker T. Washington, the early W.E.B. Du Bois, and the early Martin Luther King, Jr.

Contemporary African-American leadership, which essentially originated in the aftermath of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, is more secular, diffuse (it is typically younger and includes more women, conservatives, and business and professional people in its rank), and increasingly driven by elected officials, who value electoral over protest politics. The Congressional Black Caucus and the some three hundred black mayors are quintessentially representative of this group. While the differences noted are important, the basic values of this wing of mainstream black leadership are remarkably similar to those of its "traditional" predecessor. This is important because the black community, America, and the world have undergone radical changes since the early decades of this century. Yet, to an extent, this leadership group remains locked in a turn-of-the-century mindset. Rather than looking to the future, it remains enmeshed in old debates about racial politics in America. The larger concern, however, is that contemporary African-American leadership, against the backdrop of an increasingly class-stratified black community since the 1960s and the influential weight of middle-class black votes, might, in a manner typical of middle-class politicians, openly abandon the broad masses of blacks in their quest for coalition politics between middle-class black voters and "crossover" white middle-class voters so as to be more "electable" and advance within the Democratic party establishment.

A New Black Politics for Economic Development

Rather than embracing the narrow racial politics of the past, engaging in effete bourgeois politics, simple-mindedly blaming others or the "system," or some combination of these, black leaders must recognize that the nation and the world are at crucial historical junctures. If black people are to survive, black leaders must evidence the requisite vision and courage necessary to position the community to play its role in the coming radical transformation of America. To do the latter, a new black politics is required. Fortunately, in recent years, grassroots activists—often inspired by the 1972 Gary Convention and the challenges of a multicultural America—have begun to recognize the value of intersecting racial, class, and gender politics in any progressive agenda for transforming America.

Though not without its problems, a good example of this was Ron Daniels's Campaign for a New Tomorrow during the 1992 presidential campaign in which he combined electoral with protest politics, Black Nationalism, and progressive internationalism, and openly sought to align the black community with other communities of color and oppressed groups on the basis of independent politics that challenged both capitalism and the Democratic party and sought to exploit the transitional character of American politics. Thus, it appears that the general failure of mainstream African-American leadership to seriously confront the forces of institutionalized white racism and predatory capitalism has established the foundation for a new, progressive, grassroots-oriented leadership to emerge in the black community in the next century.

Notes

[1]United Nations, *Human Development* Report 1993.

[2]*The State of Black America 1993* (National Urban League, Inc., 1993), 160.

[3]Gerald David Jaynes and Robin M. Williams, Jr., eds., *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* (National Academy Press, 1989), 49–50.

[4]*Newsweek*, 6 April 1992, 20.

[5]Manning Marable, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (Boston: South End Press, 1983), 2.

[6]Nathan Irvin Huggins, "Afro-Americans," in *Ethnic Leadership in America*, edited by John Higham (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 97–98.

Selected References

Cruse, Harold. *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual.* New York: William Morrow, 1967.

Higham, John, ed. *Ethnic Leadership in America.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Jaynes, Gerald David, and Robin M. Williams, Jr., eds. *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society.* Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1989.

Marable, Manning. *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America.* Boston: South End Press, 1983.

Pohlmann, Marcus D. *Black Politics in Conservative America.* White Plains, N.Y.: Longman, 1990.

Taylor, Jared. *Paved with Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America.* New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1992.

White, John. *Black Leadership in America* 1895–1968. White Plains, N.Y.: Longman, 1985.

Curtis Stokes teaches African-American politics and political philosophy in the James Madison College at Michigan State University. His current research centers on contemporary African-American leadership issues.

Theoretical Explanations of Persistent Black Youth Unemployment

by Rhonda M. Williams

This essay reviews and briefly summarizes three theoretical models used most often to explain two decades of persistently high unemployment among black youth and declining rates of male labor-force participation: neoclassical, Keynesian/neo-Keynesian, and radical perspectives. Based on a review of these models, it offers an alternative approach to explaining and analyzing black youth unemployment.

Neoclassical Model

Competitive neoclassical theory conceptualizes unemployment in the context of a "skills-auction" labor market. Utility-maximizing worker-consumers invest in and sell bundles of skills; profit-maximizing capitalist firms purchase those skills. The skills-auction market "clears" through wage fluctuations that eliminate excess labor supply or demand. If unemployed, surplus workers bid down wages; if firms want more workers than are forthcoming at the prevailing wage, they increase their wage offers. In the competitive model, long-run equilibrium unemployment is a theoretical impossibility.[1]

When confronted with high rates of black youth unemployment, economists working within this perspective tend to claim either that conventional figures overstate the problem or that employment problems are a manifestation of the inadequacies of black youth. For example, Martin Feldstein and David Ellwood argue that sustained unemployment (more than twenty-six weeks) affects only a small minority of the youth population. They dismiss the notion that many black youth are discouraged workers who have abandoned the employment search because of a lack of jobs and, instead, note survey data indicating that many unemployed and out-of-school black youth live at home and, thus, do not really need to work.[2] The "inadequacy" or "culture of poverty" camp argues that black youth either are unwilling to take available low-wage jobs—they suffer from too high a "reservation wage"—or lack the cultural values (including a strong work ethic) necessary for success in the capitalist labor market.[3]

Are young black people unemployed because of poor work attitudes? This recurrent claim harkens back to the decades-old "culture of poverty thesis": African-American youth fare poorly in U.S. labor markets because they bear a cultural heritage that does not reproduce the necessary values for success in capitalist societies. Black economists Thomas Sowell and Glenn Loury have loomed large among economists of the past decade who have revitalized this cultural critique of blacks.[4] Vigorous critics of this explanatory tradition have rigorously detailed the logical, economic, historical, and philosophical limitations of the "blacks-are-dysfunctional" school of thought.[5] Nonetheless, the popular media exudes confirmations of the thesis that poor urban blacks are intrinsically "pathological."[6]

Keynesian and Neo-Keynesian Models

John Maynard Keynes's conceptualization of unemployment differed substantially from that of both the economists of his day and subsequent generations of neoclassical theorists. Keynes's peers thought unemployment was caused by the inflexibility of wages. In the first twenty-five pages of his book, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money,* Keynes indicates that his concern is *neither* the unemployment that results from the imbalances of supply and demand of specialized resources *nor* the unemployment associated with unemployed workers' inability or unwillingness to underbid currently employed workers.[7] On the contrary, his concern is unemployment which can only be reduced by an expansion of aggregate demand, regardless of what happens to wages, whether nominal or real. For Keynes, this is the definition of *involuntary unemployment.*[8]

In sharp contrast, neo-Keynesians equate involuntary unemployment with wage rigidity, or market "imperfection."[9] Wages are "sticky downward," markets cannot clear, and unemployment is the result. The neo-Keynesians offer a variety of explanations for wage rigidity: workers' efforts to preserve relative wages; the reluctance of employers and firms to change wages if they can not be changed again easily without cost; employers' belief that workers work harder with higher wages (the premise of the ascendant efficiency wage literature); a customary fair wage prevails and employers who seek to reduce wages below this level suffer social sanction.

The Keynesian perspective on black youth unemployment is, thus, one that emphasizes the relationship between aggregate demand and employment. The neo-Keynesian model also allows for the existence of black youth who seek work at the going wage, but in this case, they cannot secure employment because of wage inflexibility. Although the reasoning differs, the two traditions agree that blacks are unemployed because of insufficient labor demand by capitalist firms. Keynesians also believe labor market discrimination reduces black youth employment opportunities.

Marxist Models and Perspectives

Radicals are united in their conclusion that unemployment is part and parcel of the normal functioning of capitalist economies. Because workers are only hired by capitalist firms when the latter expect to profitably produce and sell a commodity, the demand for labor power (workers' capacity to work) varies with capitalists' profit expectations. However, because economic growth in capitalist societies often increases the capital intensity of production

(a high capital-labor ratio), a given rate of economic growth need not imply a similar increase in labor demand. Indeed, workers expelled from technologically advanced sectors are desperate and available for employment. Such was the case for African Americans following the last wave of the mechanization of cotton production in the post–World War II years.

The imposition of capitalist property relation—for example, the privatization of communally held lands during colonization—repeatedly expands the global ranks of the "reserve army" of the unemployed. The reserve army both disciplines employed workers and provides a readily available pool of cheap labor from which firms can draw during periods of economic growth. In the post–World War II years, capitalists have regularly deployed domestic (primarily southern) and global reserves in their efforts to thwart unionized U.S. workers seeking to increase wages and improve working conditions.

Like liberals, radicals believe that discrimination is an important factor in explaining the racial youth employment gap. However, liberals view discrimination as antithetical to employers' interests, since it prevents them from having access to qualified workers. In sharp contrast, Marxists believe discrimination persists because it benefits (white) capitalists and/or racially dominant white workers.

An Alternative Perspective

An alternative perspective within the Marxist tradition is offered by Steven Shulman, William A. Darity, Jr., and Rhonda M. Williams.[10] It challenges the argument that most white workers are unambiguously hurt by racism. Although they concur that capitalists deploy racial "divide-and-conquer" strategies, these economists emphasize that, all else equal, white workers are more likely to be employed than blacks. In other words, African Americans are disproportionately represented within the reserve army of the unemployed.

Alternately referred to as "neo-Marxists" or "classical Marxists," these thinkers accord centrality to capital accumulation's consequences for workers. Capitalist competition produces *both* unemployment *and* a wage hierarchy. Workers seeking to secure a living wage are in competition with one another to avoid unemployment and secure a viable living standard. In the United States (and many other capitalist societies), the legacies of colonization, slavery, and white supremacy collaborate to ensure that much of this job competition occurs along gender–mediated racial lines. White solidarity—the formal (unions) and informal (family, kinship, and community networks) channels whites use to influence employment decisions—enhances white employment probabilities. Employers periodically accommodate white power because there are costs associated with ending discrimination. These costs include lost productivity due to changing white wage/employment expectation; the costs associated with disrupted teamwork and the changing of recruitment, hiring, and training practices; and the potential costs of a more racially united work force.

Evidence from the 1980s suggests that employment discrimination against African Americans is increasing. Shulman discovered a recent and substantial shift in the cyclical behavior of racial employment differentials; in the 1950s and 1960s, black employment displayed greater cyclical variability than white employment.[11] In other words, blacks suffered greater relative employment losses during recessions, but enjoyed greater relative gains during periods of economic growth. After 1970, however, blacks' postrecession recovery gains declined with each passing upswing. In the 1982–84 recovery, black men and women actually suffered relative employment losses. The examination by Williams of 1980–85 employment changes in twelve manufacturing industries echoes Shulman's findings at the microlevel.[12] Williams discovered that black employment declined considerably faster than white employment in five of the seven sectors showing dramatic employment losses. In four of the five sectors which showed *increased* overall employment, black employment declined.

Keynesians believe labor market discrimination reduces black youth employment opportunities.

The neo-Marxist/classical Marxist analysis thus challenges those radicals who insist that white workers are simply acting against their own best interest. Indeed, their work suggests that radicals must critically assess the historical evolution of racialized working class formation in the United States.[13] The neo-Marxian challenge is not one which unambiguously calls for substituting the primacy of race-based struggles over class-based alliances. Rather, it calls upon radicals to reassess the ideological, political, and economic saliency of white supremacy and ethnic conflict in advanced capitalist societies.

Notes

[1]This section explores only the competitive model. The third section addresses models of imperfect competition.

[2]Martin Feldstein and David Ellwood, "Teenage Unemployment: What is the Problem?" in *The Youth Labor Market Problem,* edited by Richard Freeman and David Wise (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

[3]Formally speaking, "reservation wage" is the lowest wage at which an individual will accept a job offer.

[4]Glenn C. Loury, "Internally Directed Action for Black Community Development: The Next Frontier for the 'Movement,'" *The Review of Black Political Economy* (Summer/Fall 1984); Thomas Sowell, *The Economics and Politics of Race* (New York: William Morrow, 1983); and *Civil Rights: Rhetoric or Reality?* (New York: William Morrow, 1984).

[5]William A. Darity, Jr., and Rhonda M. Williams, "Peddlers Forever?: Culture, Competition, and Discrimination," *American Economic Review* 75, No. 2 (1985); Rhonda M. Williams, "Culture as Human Capital: Methodological and Policy Implications," *Praxis International* 7, No. 2 (1987); Robert Gooding-Williams, "Black Neo–Conservatism: A Critical Introduction," *Praxis International* 7, No. 2 (1987); and, Lorenzo Simpson, "Values, Respect, and Recognition: On Race and Culture in the Neo–Conservative Debate," *Praxis International* 7, No. 2 (1987).

[6]Recall the 1986 Bill Moyers special, "The Vanishing Black Family: Crisis in Black America" (25 January 1986).

[7] John M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money,* Reprint (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964 [1936]).

[8]William A. Darity, Jr., and Bobbie L. Horn, "Involuntary Unemployment Reconsidered," *Southern Economic Journal* 49, No. 1 (1983); and, "Involuntary Unemployment Independent of the Labor Market," *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics* 10, No. 2 (1987–88).

[9]William A. Darity, Jr., "Efficiency Wage Theory: Critical Reflections on the Neo-Keynesian Theory of Unemployment and Discrimination," in *New Approaches to Economic and Social Analyses of Discrimination,* edited by Richard Cornwall and Phanindra Wunnara (New York: Praeger, 1991).

[10]William A. Darity, Jr., "What's Left of the Economic Theory of Discrimination?," in *The Question of Discrimination: Racial Inequality in the U.S. Labor Market,* edited by William A. Darity and Steven Shulman (Wesleyan: Wesleyan University Press, 1989); Steven Shulman, "Competition and Racial Discrimination: The Employment Effects of Reagan's Labor Market Policies," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 16, No. 4 (1984); Rhonda M. Williams, "Capital, Competition, and Discrimination: A Reconsideration of Racial Earnings Inequality," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 19, No. 2 (1987); "Beyond 'Bad Luck': The Racial Dimensions of Deindustrialization," (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1990); and, "Competition, Discrimination, and Differential Wage Rates: On the Continued Relevance of Marxian Theory to the Analysis of Earnings and Employment Inequality," in Cornwall and Wunnara, *New Approaches.*

[11]Shulman, "Competition and Racial Discrimination."

[12]Williams, "Beyond 'Bad Luck.'"

[13]Herbert Hill, "Black Labor and Affirmative Action: An Historical Perspective," in Shulman and Darity, *The Question of Discrimination.*

Rhonda M. Williams is a political economist and associate professor in the Afro-American Studies Program at the University of Maryland at College Park.

Myths and Realities of Puerto Rican Poverty

by Edwin Meléndez

The following remarks were made as the closing keynote address at the conference, "Mainland Puerto Ricans: Myths and Realities on Poverty," held at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, on October 22 and 23, 1993.

There are two "stories" frequently cited to explain the causes of the poverty among Puerto Ricans: the first suggests that Puerto Ricans are poor because they are going through a transition as they move toward full assimilation; the second proposes that Puerto Ricans are becoming part of an urban "underclass." Neither of these explanations stands the test of reality.

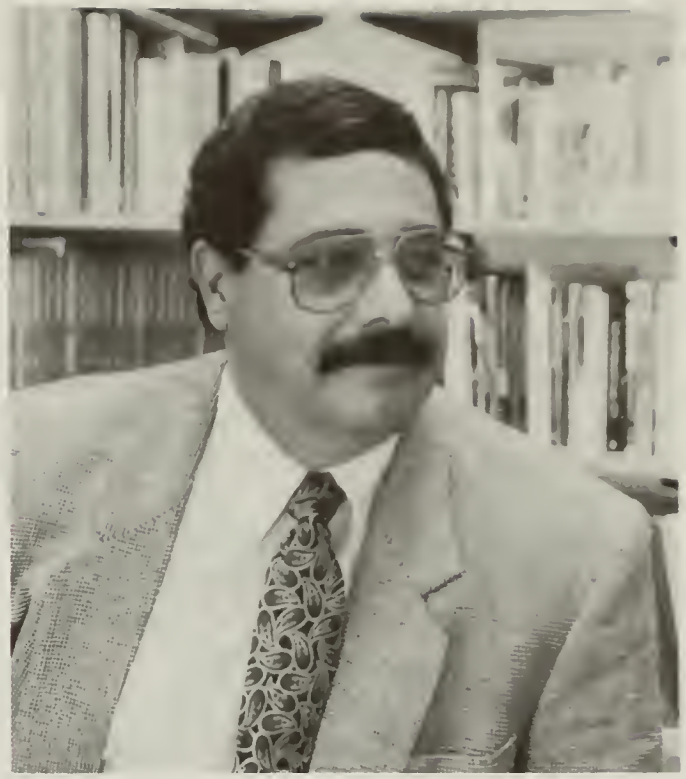
Myths of Puerto Rican Poverty and Migration

The first story that seeks to explain the causes of Puerto Rican poverty concerns immigrant assimilation: Puerto Ricans, like many ethnic groups arriving in this country, concentrate in urban ghettoes where they face great cultural and language barriers. But, eventually, immigrants adapt successfully to their new environment. Their standard of living improves dramatically with time. Education and employment opportunities provide the foundation for the second generation to do better than their parents. The problem with this theory as it relates to Puerto Ricans is that first-generation immigrants rarely achieve the promises of the new land, and their children are confronted with even greater challenges.

Three myths exist regarding the relationship between poverty and migration: the first states that:

- Puerto Rican migrants moving to and from the United States are different from those they leave behind. That is, Puerto Ricans coming to the mainland bring little education, skills, or experience compared with their island counterparts. They also have a higher probability of being unemployed or left out of the labor force. If, in addition to exhibiting these characteristics, Puerto Rican migrants concentrate in a few areas, they will induce even higher poverty rates for the population as a whole.

In reality, there is no evidence to indicate that Puerto Rican migration constitutes a selected, more or less skilled contingent from the island's labor force. Workers who left Puerto Rico during the last decade had been active participants in the island's labor force. The occupational distribution of migrants was fairly similar to that of the Puerto Rican labor force as a whole. A similar pattern was found among those who left the United States: migrants returning to Puerto Rico from the mainland were not predominantly less skilled than their fellow islanders.



In short, during the 1980s, Puerto Rican migrants resembled the general island population.[1]

The second migration myth says that:

- Puerto Ricans are poor because they go back and forth to the island. This circular migration contributes to family dissolution, intermittent school attendance, lack of cultural identity, and general social instability.

Circular migration is associated with economic dislocation, whether in Puerto Rico or the United States. Studies confirm that unemployment precedes repeat migration. In this sense, Puerto Ricans are no different from other immigrants who seek to maximize their lifetime earnings by searching for better employment opportunities. The difference is that Puerto Ricans are unable to find those opportunities where they live. They are forced to become modern urban nomads in contrast to earlier immigrant groups who had employment opportunities that allowed them to stay where they landed and adapt to the challenges of the new environment.

The third and final myth proposes that:

- Puerto Ricans face similar types of opportunities as previous immigrant groups.

Much has been said regarding the expanding industrial base of the late 1800s and early 1900s and how it increased the demand for migrant labor. Today, there are similar opportunities. The problem is that racial and ethnic discrimination preclude African Americans and Puerto Ricans, in particular, from seizing such opportunities. The 1980s were particularly harsh years in terms of economic development for Puerto Ricans for many reasons: economic restructuring in Northeast cities where Puerto Ricans are concentrated limited job opportunities for Puerto Ricans; the conservative attack on affirmative action prevented Puerto Ricans from gaining access to corporate and government employment; and, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986

increased discrimination against all Latino groups. These are more enduring circumstances than other ethnic groups have faced and will require the use of different methods of gaining equality.

A second argument about the causes of Puerto Rican Poverty proposes that Puerto Ricans are becoming part of an urban underclass. The underclass argument is straightforward: Puerto Ricans, in contrast to other Latinos who are assimilating into the mainstream of society and for whom poverty is transitory, have a higher degree of family dissolution and welfare dependency, as well as suffer from a low work ethic. As Linda Chavez in *Out of the Barrio* asserts, "Puerto Ricans are not simply the poorest of all Hispanic groups. They experience the highest degree of social dysfunction of any Hispanic group and exceed that of blacks on some indicators."[2] Chavez cites the high number of single female householders, the high incidence of children born out of wedlock, the high proportion of welfare participation among women, and the high rate of criminal incidents among men as evidence to support her argument. In similar fashion, Marta Tienda cites the high rates of welfare utilization as evidence of Puerto Ricans becoming part of an urban underclass.[3]

The problem with these arguments is that they are based on studies and samples of Puerto Ricans who live in poverty-stricken areas. It follows that they are also more likely to use AFDC (Aid For Dependent Children) and, therefore, are poor by definition, because they must comply with income eligibility requirements in order to qualify for assistance. Researchers tend to make the mistake of generalizing their findings to the population as a whole. In fact, all that has been demonstrated is that poor mothers use AFDC, and that Puerto Rican mothers tend to receive assistance for a longer time. They have not shown that Puerto Rican women with family responsibilities prefer to participate in the AFDC program rather than work outside the home, even if adequate child care were available.

Puerto Ricans have very low earnings and high rates of unemployment.

The available evidence suggests that the high incidence of AFDC participation is explained by certain patterns of family responsibilities, for example, getting married, having children, and separating from partners at an early age.[4] Other studies have suggested that Puerto Rican women receiving AFDC seek work when they have other adults living in the household to provide child care, or when they have access to adequate day care.[5] Other researchers using the same database as Tienda, found that only a relatively small proportion of parents, in fact, were idle. They also found there were socially acceptable reasons for not working outside the home, for example, health disabilities or child-rearing responsibilities. Despite the higher incidence of unemployment among Puerto Ricans, studies show they take jobs faster than other ethnic groups in similar circumstances.[6]

A corollary to the underclass argument is the idea that migration, and circular migration in particular, contributes to the development of the underclass. The composition of the migrant community could adversely affect the economic status of Puerto Rican neighborhoods to the extent that there is an overrepresentation of workers with the lowest skills and others who are likely to join the ranks of the poor. It is worse if those migrants tend to concentrate where poverty already exists.

However, in a recent study, Ramon Borges found that migration constitutes a unique source of strength for Puerto Rican communities. Migration is shown to be the primary factor in the evolution of *colonias* into *barrios*. Immigrants who moved into small towns in Massachusetts brought with them experience in community activism, as well as human and, sometimes, financial resources, that served to strengthen these communities.[7]

These explanations of Puerto Rican poverty are proffered because the alternative, which addresses the essence of the problem with the economic system, is harder to accept. What they have in common is they blame the Puerto Rican community for its poverty.

Causes of Puerto Rican Poverty

There are two major causes of Puerto Rican poverty: The status of Puerto Rican workers in the labor market; and, the antagonism toward Puerto Rican communities in urban centers. These are the main causes, but they are not the only causes. Migration, age structure and demographic change, family formation patterns, and many other factors often cited in the literature, play a secondary role.

The two most frequently used indicators of labor market disadvantage are low earnings and joblessness; Puerto Ricans have very low earnings and high rates of unemployment. The implication of these indicators for poverty are clear: fewer earners along with workers with low earnings result in a high incidence of poverty. The real question is, What explains these low earnings and high unemployment?

Factors explaining the low earnings of Puerto Ricans have been extensively documented. The conventional arguments include the following factors: lack of educational attainment; relative youth of the population; and lack of English fluency. However, there is growing evidence that factors less frequently cited, such as segmentation into low-paying jobs and discrimination, have played a prominent role in perpetuating the low earnings of Puerto Ricans. In a study of the relative importance of these factors for Puerto Ricans in New York City, the combined effect of discrimination and segmentation was shown to account for 61 percent of the earnings differences of Puerto Rican women and 51 percent of that of Puerto Rican men compared to whites after controlling for the effects of education, experience, immigrant background, and other measurable characteristics.[8]

Higher rates of joblessness, on the other hand, have resulted from industrial restructuring, residential discrimination, and employers' prejudices. The causal relationship between industrial change and job displacement among Puerto Rican women is well established. For instance, several studies have shown a decline in the labor-force participation of Puerto Rican women during the 1970s in response to a decline in the manufacturing industry in cities where Puerto Rican women were concentrated, most notably, New York City and Chicago. Other conditions causing the decline in labor-force participation include the transition to a service-based economy, the suburbanization of jobs, skills mismatch, polarization of the income structure within the Puerto Rican population, and the concentration of Puerto Ricans in the large cities of the Northeast.[9]

Residential segregation has been particularly harmful to Puerto Ricans. It is not just the suburbanization of low-skilled jobs that harms the employment opportunities of minorities, but the fact that these groups are prevented from access to those jobs by residential segregation. Whether in the inner city or the suburbs, Puerto Ricans are ghettoized: their addresses serve as a warning signal to employers who discriminate against minorities. The perceptions of employers about the poor work ethic of Puerto Ricans are reaffirmed by notions of cultural deprivation: Puerto Ricans belong to what they perceive as a "lower class in the inner city."[10]

These generalizations about Puerto Ricans are harmful to the economic well-being of the community and are discriminatory in the absence of other indicators of an applicant's skills and qualifications. Audits in which pairs of low-skilled white and Latino job seekers applied for job openings requiring only a high school diploma have shown that discrimination is rampant: whites received 33 percent more interviews and 52 percent more job offers than Latinos.[11]

Residential segregation has been particularly harmful to Puerto Ricans.

Antagonism against Puerto Rican communities in urban areas is an explanatory factor of poverty that deserves special consideration. Puerto Ricans migrated primarily to the large urban centers of the Northeast and concentrated in neighborhoods where apartments were plentiful and rents were low. These neighborhoods turned out to be highly unstable due to a number of forces.

During the 1960s, government-sponsored urban renewal displaced Puerto Rican communities in order to create open spaces for universities, middle-class housing, and other projects. During the 1970s, young professionals, in many ways attracted by the urban amenities built at the expense of low-income communities, began to seek living space in urban areas. More recently, evidence has surfaced indicating that banks have not extended credit to African Americans and Latinos to the same degree as to other groups.

All of these processes—urban job loss, government-sponsored displacement of entire neighborhoods, gentrification of neighborhoods in newly desirable areas of Puerto Rican concentration, and denial of mortgage credit by financial institutions—have induced the dispersion of Puerto Ricans from large cities to medium-sized cities and small towns. New York City, Chicago, Hartford, Philadelphia, and other large cities, now have a smaller proportion of Puerto Ricans than in past decades. In the new locales, Puerto Ricans continue to have exceptionally low rates of home ownership and are just as vulnerable to economic downturn.

Potential Solutions to the Problem of Puerto Rican Poverty

A combination of labor and housing market dynamics is responsible for the above-average poverty rates of Puerto Ricans—not the simplistic, monocausal explanations that blame the poor for their fate. The complexity of factors contributing to Puerto Rican poverty indicates that it is essential to design a multifaceted strategy to alleviate poverty.

Public policy and community-based strategies should focus on labor and work-place activism along with neighborhood development. The economic development agenda for the Puerto Rican community must be linked to education, health, and political empowerment strategies.

The economic development agenda for the Puerto Rican community must be linked to education, health, and political empowerment strategies.

Traditional policies at the federal and state levels have focused on education, employment and training, and income maintenance programs. In many areas of high Latino concentration, these policies have been extended to include bilingual education and ESL. These efforts have had little impact. To a large degree, the ineffectiveness of this approach is due not only to a lack of support and scant financial backing, but to its separation from labor and community activism.

In the work place, there must be renewed efforts to unionize workers to fight for immigrant rights. Puerto Ricans must engage in coalition building with other Latinos, as well as with African Americans, Asians, and other people of color, to promote work-place diversity along with the availability of adult education that promotes the advancement of Puerto Ricans and other people of color. Only a strong, multiracial alliance will advance an agenda that extends beyond the confines of our own community. At the national level, Puerto Ricans must join other groups to reform minimum wage laws, extend universal health

insurance, and provide a more humane welfare system.

Community economic development is another area that deserves special consideration when formulating strategies to alleviate poverty. Conventional approaches to neighborhood economic development have emphasized low-income housing, community development corporations (CDCs), and small business development. These institutions have received only minimal support in the Puerto Rican community. It is time to envision a more comprehensive strategy that includes rent control, commercial revitalization in areas of Puerto Rican business concentration, the strengthening of merchants' associations, and promotion of production cooperatives and community-owned enterprises. Work-place and neighborhood strategies must not be isolated from each other but linked to the greatest extent possible. Despite any potential gains in the work place, however, where Puerto Ricans choose to live will ultimately determine the quality of their children's education, access to jobs, and overall quality of life.

What these two sets of strategies—work-place activism and neighborhood development—have in common is that they focus on strengthening and developing the network of institutions that have allowed Puerto Rican communities to survive for so many years. Neighborhood and labor activism will help rebuild communities by developing labor unions, community-based organizations, community development corporations, production and credit unions, work-place organizations, and small businesses. These will be the foundation for the economic development and empowerment of the Puerto Rican community.

Notes

[1]Edwin Meléndez, "Los que se van, los que regresan: Puerto Rican Migration to and from the United States, 1982–88," forthcoming, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, City University of New York.

[2]Linda Chavez, *Out of the Barrio* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 140.

[3]Marta Tienda, "Welfare and Work in Chicago's Inner City," *The American Economic Review* 80, No. 2 (May 1990): 372–376

[4]William Vélez, "Welfare Dependency among Chicanos and Puerto Ricans: The Milwaukee Case," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 14, No. 1 (February 1992): 19–106.

[5]Miren Uriarte, *Latinas and the Massachusetts Employment and Training (ET) Choices Program* (Boston: Mauricio Gastón Institute, 1991).

[6]Joleen Kirschenman and Kathryn M. Neckerman, "'We'd Love to Hire Them, but ...': The Meaning of Race for Employers," in *The Urban Underclass,* edited by Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Peterson (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1991).

[7]Ramon Borges, "The Use of Immigrant Labor in Massachusetts: Evidence from Lowell, Lawrence, and Holyoke," in *Latino Poverty and Economic Development in Massachusetts,* edited by Edwin Meléndez and Miren Uriarte (Boston: Mauricio Gastón Institute, 1994).

[8]Edwin Meléndez, "Labor Market Structure and Wage Inequality in New York City," in *Hispanics in the Labor Force,* edited by Edwin Meléndez, et al. (New York: Plenum Press, 1991).

[9]Edwin Meléndez, "The Effects of Labor Market Conditions on Labor Force Participation of Puerto Rican, White, and Black Women," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 14, No. 1 (February 1992).

[10]Kirschenman and Neckerman, "'We'd Love to Hire Them, but ...'," in Jencks and Peterson, *The Urban Underclass.*

[11]Harry Cross, *Employers' Hiring Practices: Differential Treatment of Hispanic and Anglo Job Seekers* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1991).

Edwin Meléndez is director of the Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Public Policy and Development at the University of Massachusetts at Boston.

Revisiting the Question of Reparations

by James Jennings

Recent congressional action to award Japanese Americans "reparations" for their internment during World War II, as well as the Florida state legislature's act to award $150,000 to black survivors of a white riot rampage of Rosewood, a black town, in 1923,[1] has contributed to a re-emergence of the call for black reparations. Several black state and local politicians and leaders across the United States have called for legislative action that would compensate blacks for three and one-half centuries of racial enslavement. The awarding of reparations to Japanese Americans is not the only precedent for indemnity to a group of people suffering within a political, economic, and military system seeking to do that group major harm: At the end of World War II, Jewish people were given financial assistance as recompense for Nazi atrocities committed against them.

The call for black reparations has a long history in the United States as illustrated in a recent book by Richard F. America, *Paying the Social Debt*.[2] The Freedmen's Bureau, established by the federal government after the end of the Civil War, unsuccessfully sought compensation for recently freed slaves. On April 25, 1969, the National Black Economic Development conference meeting in Detroit, Michigan, called for reparations to be paid by churches and synagogues in the amount of $500 million, or $15 for every black individual in the United States at that time. Recently, a legislative bill calling for the appointment of a commission to study reparations was filed in Massachusetts. A similar bill has been filed in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and no doubt, more reparations measures and initiatives will be filed with other governing bodies throughout the United States.

The matter of reparations does not have to be a "black vs. white" controversy.

Unfortunately, some of the major media outlets in this country have sought to sensationalize the reparations issue and thereby contribute to racial division among Americans. The matter of reparations does not have to be a "black vs. white" controversy. In fact, if approached a certain way, reparations for black people could benefit all Americans. Currently, one-third of all blacks live in poverty; almost one-half of all black children live in impoverished households. The black unemployment rate, especially among youth, continues at crisis levels—much higher than rates for whites. These kinds of statistics are not only harmful to blacks and the black community, but to all Americans regardless of their race or ethnicity.

Reparations for blacks could be carried out in such a way that the economic productivity of black citizens would be enhanced. Reparations does not necessarily mean distributing a certain sum of money to all black individuals; this approach would be shortsighted and useless for both blacks and whites. But, if reparations were intended to assist blacks become more economically productive citizens, the entire society would benefit. What if reparations meant greater opportunities for the development of black businesses with a focus on black youth employment, or training programs specifically targeted for available and decent wage employment for black high school dropouts? Reparations could mean the utilization of public and private monies to help establish quality day care services and youth programs. More black economic productivity means more jobs, less crime, less poverty, and perhaps a reduction in the need for certain kinds of social welfare expenditures.

. . . reparations for black people could benefit all Americans.

Reparations could also mean that America is ready to acknowledge the history of its unjust treatment of black people, and is now ready to develop partnerships between blacks and whites in order to move this society closer to its ideals of justice and equality. Although many citizens who feel that the U.S. has done no wrong against black people, or that all wrongs have been rectified, might be uncomfortable with this strategy, ultimately, this would have a major beneficial psychological and spiritual effect on all Americans.

Notes

[1]"Florida to pay 1923 survivors of racist mob," *The Boston Globe*, 9 April 1994, 3.

[2]Richard F. America, *Paying the Social Debt* (New York: Praeger, 1993).

Race, Economic Development, and The Role of Transportation and Training

by Joan Wallace-Benjamin

As Massachusetts confronts its economic future and develops strategic plans for seizing competitive advantages, accessibility promised by proposed development plans for the transportation infrastructure must not only provide commuters with the means to get to work, but also increase the opportunity for participation in the economy for all citizens of the region. Changes in the transportation infrastructure will not ensure accessibility unless workers receive adequate training for the new types of jobs being offered. According to a recent report issued by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, authored by William P. O'Hare, "Black people who live in urbanized areas use public transportation at a higher than average rate."[1] Thus, the issue of public transportation is an important part of black economic and community development.

The African-American community and other communities of color are cognizant of the tremendous business, economic, and employment opportunities being created by the transportation development plans underway in Massachusetts. The question becomes, To what extent will communities of color, the poor and disadvantaged be able to participate in the new economy and to share the wealth?

The National Urban League has proposed a "Marshall Plan" for America, a strategic investment initiative that will be necessary to move the economy forward and secure the nation's economic future. This Marshall Plan, relevant to the work in progress in Massachusetts, is based on the following important considerations:

- African Americans and other Americans of color continue to experience exceptional disadvantages with respect to the human capital requirements of the changing economy;
- Urban centers (i.e., Boston, Worcester, and Springfield) in which African Americans and other people of color remain heavily concentrated are also areas in which educational deficiencies are most prevalent and pronounced; and,
- Urban centers with large African-American populations have seen the greatest degree of deterioration of the physical infrastructure.

The extent of improvement in work-force productivity will be determined by how well the serious deficiencies in the nation's human resources are addressed. If Boston's workers are its heart, its transportation infrastructure is analogous to the body's interlocking network of arteries, providing a means for economic energies, ideas, and products to flow. Both the "heart" and "arteries," or workers as well as transportation systems, must be kept in good repair if the community as a whole is to prosper.

A transportation and development strategy that links the neighborhoods of Boston to one another and to the jobs and cultural institutions of the city is critical to ensuring accessibility. Linkages between the people who need employment (i.e., communities with large numbers of people who are unemployed) and the hospitals, universities, and other large employers, are required if people are to take advantage of employment opportunities. Transportation plans, therefore, must be compatible with the need to get to the work place because jobs follow transportation. Along with this realization must come a willingness to reinvest in cities. The future will require that cities be viewed as fertile ground for the development of the labor force.

The economy of the twenty-first century will have few employment opportunities for unskilled or poorly educated workers.

Accessibility does not only mean having a good transportation system in place. The development of transportation systems, roads, and bridges—or the related need for bricks and mortar—will be meaningless without skilled workers. The concern about the quality of the region's human resources stems from the increase in job skills requirements. The fastest growing occupations require postsecondary education, while demands for reasoning, math, and language proficiency are rising throughout the labor market. Ninety percent of the 18 million new jobs projected for the economy between now and the year 2000 will be in the service sector, e.g., retail trade, busi-

ness, health, and education. Although many of the new positions will not require advanced degrees, education will, nonetheless, play a pivotal role in determining an individual's economic success. Moreover, managerial, professional, and technical occupations requiring postsecondary education are, in fact, showing the fastest rates of growth.

A crucial point here is that the majority of new jobs in the future, even those that do not involve advanced education, will require solid language, math, and reading skills. The ability to give or receive directions and to think analytically is becoming increasingly important in the work place. The economy of the twenty-first century will have few employment opportunities for unskilled or poorly educated workers. The prestigious Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills estimates that presently more than 60 percent of all twenty-five-year olds lack the basic reading and writing skills necessary for employment in the modern work place, and only 10 percent of the population in that age group have enough mathematical competence for today's job market.

Curtailment of federal support for employment and training programs has been drastic, down 69 percent between 1980 and 1989. Annual spending in this area is approximately 19 billion less than a decade ago, and is substantially below the percentage of the gross national product allocated to employment and training programs by other industrialized countries. In light of the issues surrounding improved economic productivity, comparisons to international efforts to assist youth in entering and performing effectively in the labor market are particularly disturbing. Other nations have been significantly more progressive in providing such supports.

A lack of willingness to invest in youth raises serious questions about national priorities . . .

A lack of willingness to invest in youth raises serious questions about national priorities and the commitment to the work force of today and the beginning decades of the new century. America significantly underinvests in youth who are not college bound, despite the fact that the majority of today's young people do not pursue postsecondary education in a four-year institution by the time they are age twenty-five, and only one-fifth of those who do pursue a college education graduate. Why does public policy so decidedly favor college-bound youth and disfavor those who do not go to college? The answer lies in the fact that financing college educations for youth is perceived to be vital to our long-term, national economic interests. In contrast, support for employment and training for youth who do not go to college, particularly those who experience the most severe barriers to effective functioning in the labor market, is viewed more as a social than an economic necessity. Program outlays for such disadvantaged youth tend to be regarded as a current budget issue, as opposed to an investment initiative that promises significant economic returns in the form of improvements in the work force, as well as lower costs as the result of reduced welfare dependency, crime, and related problems.

The policy issues that arise in relation to the issue of accessibility have to do with the human aspect that emerges from looking at development in a broader context. Development must be treated in human as well as physical terms. Persistent inequities are constraints to the development of the region. Progressive and aggressive actions are required to remove such limitations. Urban unrest, like that witnessed in Los Angeles in 1993 in the wake of the Rodney King verdict, is the result of overemphasis on the physical and neglect of the human development of a region. It is the price this region will pay if it moves forward without assuring that everyone will participate fully in the rewards of development.

Development must be treated in human as well as physical terms.

Economic development in a region like New England, characterized by rapidly changing demographics, will require that those most neglected and disadvantaged will be those most needed in the work force of the future. Employment and training opportunities for the members of communities that have been marginalized by inadequate education, poverty, and other disadvantages, must be provided in an atmosphere that recognizes and acknowledges the challenges and intense commitment required to develop strong and lasting employment skills in workers. Training must be rigorous, provided in a structured and supportive atmosphere over a significant period of time, and accompanied by supportive social services that address the lifestyle issues that have the potential to become real barriers to a successful work experience for many individuals.

Equity and opportunity are not new issues in the city of Boston or the region as a whole. Communities of color and the African-American community, in particular, have had to advocate strongly for their fair share of the development opportunities that transportation infrastructure and other development projects have made available to others. What does it say about a city or region when certain groups are habitually left out and feel as though they cannot depend on their leadership to protect their interests? Can such cities and regions prosper as economies become global? A fair, long-range, and equitable approach to rebuilding the region's transportation infrastructure may provide an opportunity to resolve some of the problems that have discouraged economic development.

Notes

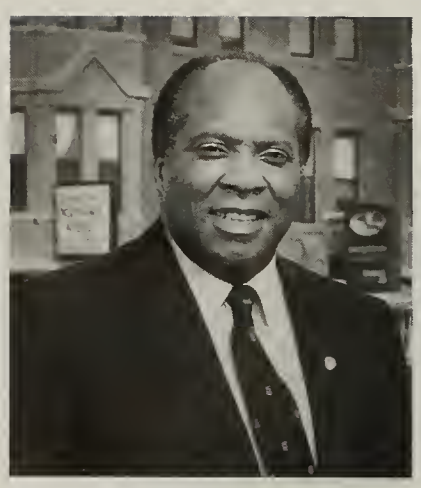
[1]William P. O'Hare, "The Urban Commuter," *Focus* (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, January 1985), 5.

Joan Wallace-Benjamin is president/CEO of the Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts. A graduate of Wellesley College, Dr. Wallace-Benjamin received her doctoral degree from Brandeis University. In 1993, she received a honorary doctoral degree from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Providing Quality Leadership in Roxbury: A Profile of Leon T. Nelson

by Harold Horton

Harold Horton



Leon T. Nelson

Poor leadership is often the cause for the inept functioning and eventual collapse of an organization or agency. This is because the leader sets the tone and to a great extent determines whether or not an organization will be viable. Leon T. Nelson, president of the Greater Roxbury Chamber of Commerce, has done his utmost to live up to the organization's motto, "Quod facis bene fac," which means doing whatever you do as well as you possibly can.

In a community that underwent drastic demographic changes during the 1970s and 1980s, when numerous businesses led the "white flight" to suburbia, like so many cities in America at the time; in a community that City Hall has ignored, where quality education no longer exists, where unemployment remains exceptionally high, where infant mortality rates continue to skyrocket, where there are no newsstands or newspaper vending machines on any corner, where there is crime, where there is only one supermarket, Leon T. Nelson, as president of the GRRC, has made a Samson-like stance to cede no more ground to dismay and deterioration. He is constantly working to fulfill his pledge to improve the economic, political, and social life in Roxbury.

The Awesome Task of Organizing

Nelson, a native of New Haven, Connecticut, has lived in Boston for thirty years. He holds a bachelor's degree in history and government from Colby College and earned his master's degree in political science at Northeastern University. Besides heading GRCC, Nelson is publisher and editor of the *Boston Minority Business News* as well as president of the Greater Roxbury Economic Development Corporation. He is also a member of the Bunker Hill Community College Board of Visitors; Colby College Board of Overseers; Omega Psi Phi fraternity; and the Prince Hall Masons.

Nelson's leadership role with GRCC began as recently as 1991 when a group of individuals began holding a series of meetings at the Roxbury Multi-Service Center to discuss concerns about youth services, business development, and outreach activities that were geared to a particular segment of the community. Realizing that some of the individuals had come together with the purpose in mind of forming such an organization as GRCC, Nelson "took the bull by the horns" and assumed the awesome task of developing an organization that, as he explained, "would prove to be viable, action-oriented, positive in thought process, and a key player on the cutting edge of economic development and minority business in the city of Boston."

Realizing that organizations come and go in the black community, Nelson was determined that GRCC would not be short-lived. Under his quiet but emphatic leadership, GRCC decided to carefully plan its programs so that the organization would be practical, or as Nelson explained, "feasible and do-able." This philosophy is still crucial to all of GRCC's activities.

A Commendable Growth within a Three-Year Period

Within the relatively short period of three years, GRCC has grown and is now comprised of more than three hundred members, including organizations, groups, corporations, and individuals. GRCC sponsors many events and programs, among them breakfast and luncheon information sessions; symposia; newsletters; annual membership luncheons and awards dinners; conferences; position papers; forums; seminars; and legislative initiatives. Nelson explained that GRCC is making an effort to serve "its constituents as a gateway to economic development, business information, community involvement, information services, and networking."

Without question, GRCC, under the dynamic leadership of Leon Nelson, has made a definite impact on the community of Roxbury, for a day does not pass without Nelson providing assistance to local business people. The following responses were offered by Leon Nelson during an interview by the Trotter Institute:

H.H.: What, in your opinion, are some of the major accomplishments of GRCC?

L.N.: The chamber has emerged as an organization that can be of direct assistance to the minority businessperson and economic development initiatives in the community. Through its information and communication processes, the chamber is able to remain in continuous contact with its constituents; majority corporate structures; city, state and federal government officials; and many community, human service, and health agencies in the area.

The chamber takes a direct approach in acting on its initiatives and mandates to be of assistance to the minority businessperson. On several occasions the chamber has served as that intermediary force that brings together—at the meeting table—those individuals interested in fostering and pursuing expanding business opportunities. Direct contact has been made with several corporations which has allowed the minority businessperson to participate in and gain a greater share of the procurement and services market.

The chamber has sponsored economic development bus tours, "We Care" marketing programs, breakfast and luncheon information sessions, business and economic development seminars and symposia, a trade mission to West Africa, and annual awards dinners and membership luncheons. Our biweekly information mailings to the membership are always replete with current data and information tracts which have proven to be useful to our constituents. The GRCC *Black Business Directory* has provided area residents with a listing of the plethora of minority businesses in operation in the area.

Our outreach efforts include initiatives in the fields of corporate linkage and partnership programs, youth employment opportunities, and assisting community organizations.

H.H.: To what extent do you believe that people at-large who live in Roxbury are aware of GRCC's major accomplishments?

L.N.: Fortunately, the work of GRCC is often chronicled in the news media. Not a week goes by without GRCC and its ongoing programs being highlighted in one or more of the following print media: *The Bay State Banner, Dorchester Community News, South End News, Boston Minority Business News,* the *Boston Globe,* and the *Boston Herald.* A number of chamber programs and initiatives have been aired on major television stations in the area, and cable television has continuously focused on the work of GRCC.

Every day, telephone calls are received from community residents and local businesspersons requesting the chamber's assistance. The chamber is now one of the most visible and identifiable organizations in Boston's minority community.

H.H.: How would you describe the current status of GRCC?

L.N.: With a membership of more than three hundred individuals, groups, organizations and corporations, and with numerous requests and invitations to participate in activities, the chamber is on the cutting edge of significant change and action in the minority community. The chamber is held in high regard by the community, corporations, and governmental staffers. It is frequently called upon to lend its expertise or advice on particular issues. The telephone rings constantly. The chamber has stepped rather sprightly into a void that previously existed, and has now emerged as the best ball game in town.

H.H.: Do you believe that residents of Roxbury should consider renaming the area Mandela or Malcolmtown, or any other such name?

L.N.: No. Roxbury is Roxbury. A name change does not produce new attitudes or mindsets. We can all work together to make Roxbury the place that we want it to be; then, perhaps, other areas of the nation, through our example, may want to rename their community Roxbury.

H.H.: What type of relationship exists between GRCC and City Hall?

L.N.: Since its inception, GRCC has maintained a strong business relationship and direct communications with former Mayor Raymond L. Flynn and current Mayor Thomas M. Menino. City agencies participate in all of GRCC's public events. They advertise in our program booklets. In short, GRCC has formed a partnership with the city, geared to enhance the growth of minority business and substantive economic development in the minority community.

H.H.: Are there any types of economic initiatives coming out of the state legislature or the U.S. Congress that appear to be promising for Roxbury?

L.N.: Yes. The Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development's $100 million Disposition Program is an excellent opportunity for the minority businessperson. The possibility of Boston being designated an "Empowerment Zone" could result in viable economic development for the area. The commonwealth's siting of the Registry of Motor Vehicles office building in Roxbury, and Economic Affairs Secretary Gloria Cordes Larson's efforts to have the state be more responsive to urban minority business interests are definitely steps in the right direction. In addition to the funding by the legislature of the Urban Initiative Fund, the state is properly pursuing a policy of deeper, more positive involvement in minority business affairs. Of course, much more can be done by the federal, state, and local governments. We have all traveled a long way; much more needs to be done.

H.H.: In looking toward the twenty-first century, overall, how does the future look economically for Roxbury?

L.N.: One can either be optimistic or pessimistic on this score. In short, one can see a glass half-full or half-empty. The possibility of a sports megaplex being located in Roxbury, new convention facilities, new

housing, start-up of new businesses, retooling old businesses, and bringing in established businesses —all of these are feasible goals that may or may not succeed. Everything is relative: Who is in public office? What dictates a priority? Who foots the bill? Where does the bottom line and community development merge into a workable plan?

No one can forecast the future, but plans can be made for when the timing and position are right for putting them into action.

Harold Horton is associate director of the Trotter Institute and a faculty affiliate in UMass Boston's Graduate College of Education, Doctorate of Higher Education Program.

Reports and Papers Related to Economic Development

Published by the William Monroe Trotter Institute

Understanding the Nature of Urban Poverty in America
(Praeger, 1994)
James Jennings

Black Businesses in Massachusetts: Status and Challenges,
Occasional Paper No. 25
James Jennings, 10 pp., 1994

Black Businesses in Massachusetts: Status and Challenges,
Conference Proceedings of the
October 29, 1993, Forum at the
University of Massachusetts at Boston
103 pp, 1994

Black Entrepreneurship in the United States: A Survey,
Herbert Tyson, 24 pp., 1993

An Overview of Minority-Owned Businesses in Massachusetts,
Russell Williams, et al., 52 pp., 1993

Perspectives on Poverty in Boston's Black Community,
Published by the Persistent Poverty Project
of the the Boston Foundation
Edited by James Jennings, 84 pp., 1992

An Examination of Latino Experiences in Vocational Education: Implications for Educational Policy and Reform in Massachusetts
James Jennings, 37 pp., 1992

Reconsidering Vocational Technical Education for Black and Latino Youth,
James Jennings, 27 pp., 1992

"African-Americans and the Future of the U.S. Economy,"
Trotter Review, Winter/Spring 1991
Lou Ferleger and Jay R. Mandle

"Economic Prescriptions for Black Americans,"
Trotter Review, Winter/Spring 1991
Jeremiah P. Cotton

"Recent Changes in the Structure and Value
of African-American Male Occupations,"
Trotter Review, Fall 1990
Jeremiah P. Cotton

"Blacks in the Economy"
Herbert Hill
in *Critiques of the NRC Study, A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society,* Volume VI
Assessment of the Status of African Americans
Edited by Wornie L. Reed, 56 pp., 1990

"Children and Families"
Robert B. Hill and James B. Stewart
in *Critiques of the NRC Study, A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society,* Volume VI
Assessment of the Status of African Americans
Edited by Wornie L. Reed, 56 pp., 1990

"Race and Inequality in the
Managerial Age,"
William Darity, Jr.,
in *Social, Political, and Economic Issues in Black America,* Volume IV of the
Assessment of the Status of African-Americans
Edited by Wornie L. Reed, 150 pp., 1990

"Race and Inequality in the
Managerial Age,"
William Darity, Jr.,
in *Summary,* Volume I (Second Edition) of the
Assessment of the Status of African-Americans
Edited by Wornie L. Reed, 99 pp., 1990

Vocational Technical Education in Boston: Towards Accountability, Prioritization, and Decentralization
James Jennings and William Joseph Moore,
33 pp., 1990

"Welfare Reform: A Summary and Analysis of Current
U.S. Congressional Debate Over the Family Security Act of 1988,"
Trotter Review, Spring 1989
Bette Woody

Community Development,
Occasional Paper No. 11
Eugene "Gus" Newport, 12 pp., 1989

Transcriptions of Proceedings from the Massachusetts Black Legislative Caucus and William Monroe Trotter Institute Prevailing Wage Conference,
June 23, 1988, 47 pp.

Determining Tax Contributions and Service Benefits for Greater Roxbury,
Occasional Paper No. 14
Bette Woody, 7 pp., 1988

On the Costs and Benefits of the Prevailing Wage,
Occasional Paper No. 13
Jeremiah P. Cotton, 16 pp., 1988

Vocational Education in Massachusetts and the Future of Young Minority Citizens,
James Jennings and William Joseph Moore,
55 pp., 1988

Youth Employment and Unemployment: Outreach Initiatives in Massachusetts and the City of Boston,
James E. Blackwell, 125 pp., 1987

Youth and Jobs: A Bibliography of Publications, 1980–1986, with Selected Annotations,
James E. Blackwell, 54 pp., 1987

"The Economic Status of Blacks in Boston,"
Trotter Review, Winter 1987
James E. Blackwell

The Indispensable Ally: Black Workers and the Formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations 1934–1941,
Bill Fletcher and Peter Agard, 22 pp., 1987

Preliminary Report on a Comparative Analysis of the Underlying Dimensions of Unemployment among Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites in Boston,
Research Report No. 16
Jeremiah P. Cotton, 33 pp., 1987

"Some Observations on Closing the Gap: Forty Years of Economic Progress for Blacks,"
Trotter Review, Winter 1987
Jeremiah P. Cotton

Free Enterprise Zones: A Public Service Forum,
42 pp., 1986

Community-Based Housing: Potential for a New Strategy,
Research Report No. 2
Rachel G. Bratt, 80 pp., 1985

For information about these or other institute publications, please write to the following address, or call (617) 287-5880:
Publications Manager, Trotter Institute, UMass Boston,
100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston, MA 02125-3393.

William Monroe Trotter Institute
University of Massachusetts at Boston
100 Morrissey Blvd.
Boston, MA 02125-3393

Address Correction Requested

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
Paid
Boston, MA
Permit No. 52094

Subscribe!

to the *Trotter Review*

Enclosed is my check for one year's subscription:

☐ $8.00 (individual) ☐ $22.00 (institution)

Cost per copy is $6.00 for 1-9 copies; $4.50 for 10 or more:

Please send me_____copies of the_____issue, Vol. _____, No. _____, for a total cost of $ _____. ___.

☐ This is a renewal

☐ This is a change of address

☐ Please send ordering information for back issues

Name: _____

Affiliation: _____

Address: _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make your check payable to the Trotter Institute, University of Massachusetts, and mail with this form to:

The William Monroe Trotter Institute
University of Massachusetts at Boston
100 Morrissey Blvd.
Boston, MA 02125-3393
Attn: Publications Manager